

THE THIRD EDITION CORRECTED.

A N T I C I P A T I O N

OF THE

S P E E C H E S,

INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN

In the HOUSE of COMMONS,

On FRIDAY, MAY 4,

UPON THE MOTION OF ALDERMAN NEWN-
HAM, RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF
THE PRINCE OF WALES.

L O N D O N :

Printed for G. KEARSLEY, No. 46, Fleet-street.

M,DCC,LXXXVII.

[Entered at Stationers' Hall.]

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.

KEARSLEY *has just Published,*

[Price 4s. Sewed]

A NEW EDITION CORRECTED, OF

LOVE AND MADNESS:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ONE OF WHICH CONTAINS THE

ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF CHATTERTON.

GOVERNOR.—“Who did the bloody deed?”

OROONOKO.—“The deed was mine.

“Bloody I know it is; and I expect

“Your laws should tell me so. Thus, self-condemn’d,

“I do resign myself into your hands,

“The hands of Justice.”

Oroonoko. V. 3.

A N T I C I P A T I O N, &c.

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1787.

THE notice which Mr. Newnham had given of his intended motion, relative to the income of the Prince of Wales, had filled the House of Commons, at four o'clock, with a greater number of members than have lately attended their parliamentary duty; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer appearing, as usual, about that hour, and the Speaker having called to Mr. Newnham, the worthy Alderman opened his intended motion nearly in the following manner :

“ Sir, I am concerned to find, by the several answers of the Right Honourable

A 2

the

the Chancellor of the Exchequer relative to the business of this day, that the welfare and interests of the heir of the crown should be one duty of importance, by which the minister can be charged with a neglect at once derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and the honour of the nation. To repel an invitation to discharge a duty so indispensable to his situation, by asserting the necessity of the royal commands, is to seek a sanction from the silence of the crown that renders the negligence more unpardonable. It is with every fervent testimony of loyalty, which can be exacted from a member of this House, that I now rise to vindicate the interests of the nation in the ease and prosperity of the Prince of Wales, and to supply, by the timely interference of parliament, a dereliction of his Highness's welfare, disgraceful in the eyes of foreign nations, and inglorious to this country.

“ As

“ As one of the representatives of the metropolis, I hope to attain credit with the House for coming forward, in this extremity, upon the respectable grounds of the public wish, and the public interest; and that thus to claim the regard of the nation, for the happiness of their future monarch, will not be called a flying in the face of majesty. Sir, I bend with every submission to the royal intention: but, under a silence of that intention, I trust, and I believe, that it is the peculiar province of this House to advise the crown in all cases that shall to them appear essential to the honour and advantage of the nation.

“ This abandonment of the interests of his Royal Highness, so assimilated with the daring and experimental quality of the Right Honourable Gentleman’s administration,

nistraton, it becomes the peculiar duty of this House to prevent ; and to defeat, by the motion I shall have the honour to submit to you, the shameful obsequiousness of ministers to supposed intention. I say, Sir, supposed intention, because, where every argument, which can consist with nature, reason, and true dignity, goes to unite the royal wishes with those of the nation, for the permanent happiness of the heir apparent, it is an insult to Majesty, to this House, and to common sense, to suppose an intention that so manifestly tends to abridge it.

“ I shall however wave, Sir, for the present, any further consideration of the immediate cause which draws upon myself a task, to which I am only conscious of bringing into the scale of parliamentary debate a zeal for the honour of the nation,

tion, and an unfeigned affection and respect for the royal family. Independent, therefore, of every other consideration, and impelled by that zeal of loyalty which is congenial with every breast in this House, I shall beg leave to represent the affairs of the Prince of Wales as they appear by authentic documents. It will appear how inadequate to the proper and becoming establishment of his Highness is his present very limited income: and when the House shall have duly considered the change which, with the increased wealth of this kingdom, the ordinary and expensive appendages of his elevated station have undergone, no former allowance to a Prince of Wales will, in the present occasion, be drawn into precedent. The ratio of expense," said Mr. Newnham, "has, in almost every article of ornament or necessity, acquired a new comparative standard, and precludes

cludes all conclusions from the prudence of our forefathers." Mr. Newnham then stated, with accuracy and clearness, the particulars of his Highness's revenues, and the amount of debts, "which," said Mr. Newnham, "had been incurred by inexperience and generosity, and were in a train of payment, by the most extraordinary instance of self-denial that the private history of any country has recorded." When the worthy Alderman had gone through this part of his subject, which he treated with great perspicuity and ingenuity of remark, he concluded with observing that, "as the House was now in possession of the grounds upon which the necessity of the motion, which he should have the honour to make, rested, he would leave that necessity to make its way to the breasts of honourable members." The worthy Alderman

derman then made his motion nearly in these words: " That as it appears to this House that the reduced state of the revenues of his royal Highness the Prince of Wales is inadequate to his high station, and the due support of his proper state and dignity, this House will take the same into their most serious consideration, and grant such aid to his Royal Highness as the necessity of his affairs requires."

The motion was seconded by Lord John Cavendish; who expressed himself highly gratified by having a motion of such evident necessity and importance brought forward by the respectable Alderman and representative of the chief city of the kingdom. " The ease and prosperity of his Royal Highness," said Lord John, " are very properly denominated by the worthy Alderman,

B man,

man, a very dear interest of the nation ; and it is a circumstance strange and unaccountable, that the situation of the Heir Apparent of the crown should have been hitherto unnoticed by ministers ; but this House," said his Lordship, " is not now to discover that the Right Honourable Gentleman can, without other instigations than those of whim and inexperience, speculate upon the practicabilities of an overtaxed country, subvert the ancient principles and resources of finance, and heap upon the voluminous records of the exchequer schemes of taxation, diversified with all the novelties of juvenile experiment. Such tasks appear so congenial with the originalities of his administration, that not to rescue an amiable and generous Prince from the dilemma in which opposing obligations had placed him, is to prefer to the dictates of national beneficence

ficence the exercise of public oppression. When the Right Honourable Gentleman had told the house that a surplus of 1,200,000l. remains unapplied in the Exchequer, is it not palpable to demonstration," said Lord John, "that this dereliction of his Highness's welfare, on the part of the Right Honourable Gentleman, proceeds more from motives of a private and malicious nature than from any fancied duty to his country, or from any other principle of state convenience, than may be thought to result from the oppression of a Prince, whose independent mind can penetrate through the artifices of ministerial compliance, and embrace those, whose attachments to his Royal Person and Family are as notorious as they are fruitless. Nothing," added Lord John, "can be more convincing to my mind of the malicious motives of the Right Honourable Gen-

tleman, by his uncommon disregard to the accommodation of his Royal Highness, than the vast merit which that noble Prince has obtained in the public eye, by his retirement from his high station, for the most worthy of purposes—the payment of his debts! a measure that, when considered in its operations, by encouragement and example, cannot fail to form an era in domestic economy and pecuniary regeneration; objects which the fatalities of one pastime render more and more necessary to some of the first families in the kingdom.” His Lordship concluded by giving his most cordial support to the motion.

Mr. Pitt now rose, and stated briefly that, as he felt the motion to be of a nature disrespectful to the crown, he should decline entering, unless compelled, into the object of the motion; and content himself with the assurance that his duty would

would be best discharged by moving the order of the day.

Mr. Powis rose, and observed,

Mr. Speaker: I shall not trespass long upon your time ; but I should hold myself inexcusable were I upon this occasion to give a silent vote. In a question so highly interesting to the body of which I have the honour to be a member, and to the country of which I am a citizen, the exertion of my poor abilities is a duty from which I cannot exempt myself. As long as my voice can be heard, will I warn you of the impending danger, and urge my vaticination of the alarming consequences of adopting the measure proposed. I am far from impeaching the intentions of the worthy Alderman who made the motion ; his understanding has been the dupe of his heart, the kindness of his nature has

led him into the mistake. I do flatter myself that the same disposition will incline him to withdraw his motion when he shall be convinced of his error: without any further exordium, let us come to the point, and let gentlemen recollect that it will be impossible for us to increase the Prince of Wales's revenue, without becoming sharers in his disgrace, and partners of his crimes. If he be allowed to be profligate, (and who can doubt it,) we shall be considered profligate too; if he be extravagant, we shall also be branded with extravagance; if he be regardless of decency and good manners, we shall assist him in trampling them under foot; if he deride the solemnity and loosen the holds of conjugal engagements, we shall secure him impunity; if he fly in the face of his country's laws, we shall enable him to infringe them with effect; if he live in a
state

state of disobedience as a son, we shall infuse poison in the cup, which he offers to the lips of his parent. And are these phantoms of the imagination; are they, Sir, wild chimeras without foundation or substance? No, Mr. Speaker—Would to God they were not realized by existing facts, by facts of universal notoriety!—Had it pleased the Prince to be less overt in his offences; and, if he must be vicious, had he confined to a narrower circle the effects of his vice, I should have been the last to publish to the world transactions at which my soul sickens, and which I would fain forget for ever—but no event is of greater publicity—the sun shines not upon a man in England who is ignorant of the Prince's conduct.—And what a conduct! he has stabbed the morals of the nation I fear beyond hope of recovery; he has broken down the barriers of propriety and order.

I am

I am not in my nature severe—there are many whom I rejoice to see in their places on this occasion, to whom I can with confidence appeal:—but not to be roused at a time like this—when an offender seeks a shelter within our walls who deserves to be punished, when *he* expects to find excuse for *every* crime who ought to be incapable of *any*, and from us, who ought to be most implacable, being most injured; nay, asks reward for his misdeeds—would argue an apathy and insensibility to which, I acknowledge Mr. Speaker, I am a stranger. I honour and obey my King, I love his family; but, paramount to all other considerations, I deem the duty which I owe my country; when her interests are affected I cannot be indifferent; when her laws are violated, I must complain; when she receives a wound, I bleed from my heart. I see all these things involved in
the

the present question, and I therefore pray and entreat the House that they will not disgrace themselves, and injure the country who has chosen them her representatives, by agreeing to the motion of the worthy Alderman, as they will thereby invite every future P—ce of W—s, who may happen unfortunately to be born with the same propensities, to follow this P—ce's example."

Sir. J. Erskine rose, and addressed the house to the following effect.

Mr. Speaker,

I never rose with so strong a conviction that the cause I was about to defend was the cause of right, as I feel at this moment. It is the cause of honour, the cause of justice, the cause of human nature it-

C

self!

self! If my known attachment to the Prince of Wales be objected to me as a disqualifying circumstance towards forming a just judgment on the subject, let it plead also for the warmth, the agitation, the anxiety which I experience in supporting a measure so near my heart. But why should it be considered an impediment in so plain, so obvious a question?—a question which is answered by every dictate of philanthropy; which, without partaking of metaphysical refinement, goes directly to the feelings of every man: by them let it be tried. I do not disclaim an appeal to the passions; it is fit they should be consulted; but it shall be my aim to interest your passions through the medium of your judgment; and if this can be effected, in all events I ought to prevail. I confess I am earnest in the business. The walls of this house would brand me with indifference were I
not

not moved to see an amiable young prince, adorned by every accomplishment which can perfect the manners, and dignified by every quality which can recommend the heart, his foibles and imprudence serving but as a shade to virtues, which would otherwise shine too bright;-- the Heir Apparent to the British empire—to see him, I say, exposed to ridicule and obliquy, by the ill-timed parsimony of a British parliament; to observe him, thus meritorious, denied by a great people the indulgence which a good father would accord to an offending son; to find him reduced to a state beneath his rank; nay, oppressed by the deadening weight of indigence without relief;---is it not enough to rouse the indignation, and wound the feelings, of any but the most obdurate soul alive? even such a one could not be indifferent. I am sure I need not caution you, Sir, against believing the vague and idle

rumours which stalk about our streets against the Prince of Wales—of his keeping company with this and that debauchee ; of his continuing in a perpetual state of intoxication ; and of his neglecting the acquaintance of those noble personages who compose the lustre of the other house, and who are the best qualified for his society : the bare relation of such stories is sufficient to excite laughter and exclude belief—so improbable in their nature, so subversive of the truth ! You know, Mr. Speaker, and the greater part of the House must know, that the Prince of Wales not only associates with the nobility of this country, but that he is cherished and beloved by them ; nor could that be the case if, in the long catalogue of crimes for which he is arraigned by a servile and envious group of dissembling court sycophants, there appeared one founded and established which was inconsistent with
a man

a man of honour or a gentleman. To believe it would reflect a degree of dishonour upon their lordships, which I hope no member of this house can possibly attribute to them. But we have heard a very impassioned and declamatory harangue from a worthy gentleman, whose age did not promise so much fire, and from whose character so much acerbity could not have been expected. I congratulate the House on the discovery they have made of the nature of his abilities; and hope that before long we shall see his warmth directed to a more proper object. He has certainly attempted to prove but one thing to day, in which to be sure he has succeeded; but it seems to me this might have been done with much less trouble to himself and pain to the house. He might have convinced us that he was angry without the abuse of words, affassination of epithets, and waste of time,

time, by which his speech has been distinguished. I dare say he fondly conceives that the Philippic, which he has pronounced against the unfortunate Prince of Wales, will prove fatal to his cause, and carry conviction to the House that he is not a proper object of their bounty. But, good God, Sir, how is it possible for common sense so to err, or human reason to be so perverted! Stripping the gentleman's speech of its high-sounding ornaments and frenetic declamation, what does it amount to?—Argument wrought in fallacy, and conclusion built upon error. Let us particularize. He tells us that the example of the Prince of Wales has injured the morals of the nation, and that he has broken down the barriers of decency and good manners. Were we sitting in a censorial capacity, and trying the Prince for any offence against the laws of morality, this allegation would be most properly

properly and pertinently brought forward : I should in that case have no difficulty in pleading not guilty ; and if the gentleman could produce a single instance of a vice become more fashionable, or a breach of manners more tolerated now than before the Prince became the object of public attention, I would desist from his defence. But we are not trying the Prince of Wales, or his merits—would to God they might be fairly and fully investigated ! Diffident as I am of my own strength, upon that ground most cheerfully would I meet the fiercest of his assailants, and upon the issue of the contest would I rest my cause. This I take rather to be the point in controversy—whether it be not essential to the dignity of this country, whose representatives we are, to support the rank, to maintain the honour, and to protect the fame of the Heir Apparent of the British crown,

crown; and, upon a ground of policy, upon a ground of propriety, upon a ground of duty, is it most indispensable in my opinion. For, supposing the foibles of the Prince to be, as they are represented to be by the enraged gentleman on the other side of the house, derogatory to the character of so high a personage, which would be the wiser course, which would become us more—to plunge him into despair and hurry him on to ruin by our severity, or to reclaim him by our liberality, to enable him to recover the points which he has lost, and to erase from his escutcheon the blots which may be found there? The intemperance of youth seldom fails to be corrected by the solidity of maturer years; but the abandonment of hope is followed by an excess of depravity, and almost inevitably leads to destruction. But, on the gentleman's own supposition, the argument turns so clearly
against

against him, how much more so will it appear, when we consider as we ought that, instead of being profligate, he is humane; instead of immoral, compassionate; and that where he is represented as profuse, his expenditures are in the cause of beneficence; that his ear is ever open to the tale of the unfortunate, and his purse to relieve their distresses; that in his friendship he is sincere, in his deportment affable, and that he never feels himself a prince but when he is exerting the power of doing good. I am aware that the strongest objection, which will be urged this evening against parliamentary interference to relieve the Prince's distresses, will be founded on the extreme delicacy of the question—on the relation which subsists between his Majesty and the Prince; but, without meaning a disloyal or an irreverent idea that the father is inexorable to the son, this is not a reason that

D

the

the people of this country should forget their duty to the Prince of Wales : but, on the contrary, if the King withhold from him a subsistence suitable to his rank, it becomes more necessary and more indispensable for us to provide for his exigencies. I cannot persuade myself yet entirely to leave the subject, though I am sensible that I have already too long trespassed on the attention of the house ; [here a cry of 'Hear him, hear him,' from the young members in the house ;] but I shall conclude in a few words. When I consider the magnanimity of the Prince of Wales, in retiring from the splendour to which he had been accustomed, of his retrenching his expenses, and devoting one half of his income to the payment of his debts ; I become an enthusiast, and could never be satisfied with repeating and reurging his claims to the attention of this house ; they are traits which impress upon my mind indelibly

indelibly the excellence of his character. The worthy Alderman, who brings the question now under your consideration, has my warmest thanks for his disinterestedness and zeal upon the whole of this business ; they must recommend him to the admiration and esteem of all good men. But this will not be his only reward ; he will find an ample one in his own reflections, an inexhaustible source of pleasure and satisfaction will there be opened to him, his conscience will reward him, and peaceful will be that pillow where rests the remembrance of actions past."

Sir James Erskine having concluded his very cordial harangue, was followed by Mr. Wilber——ce, to the following purport :

“ The respect, Sir, which I feel in common with the Right Honourable Gentleman, would induce me to decline entering upon relations which the worthy Alderman and the noble Lord have thought proper to advance ; but, however reluctantly I do it, it is put out of my power to keep that seal upon my lips which a subject of this extreme delicacy ought most carefully to preserve. It is evident to my mind that neither the honour, the interest, nor the inclination of his Royal Highness, are consulted on this day, by the motion of the worthy Alderman; for to propose the conduct of so exalted a personage to the inquisition of a free debate in this House, is to invite the exposition of weaknesses, the publication of follies, and the history of one indiscretion mysteriously replete with every mischief that can befall the inconsiderate indulgence of passion. The honour of his Royal Highness cannot

not therefore have been consulted by the authors of this inquiry. As little have they consulted his Highness's interest when they drag forward, in opposition to the rules of this House, a question so evidently resting upon the option of the crown to prevent. And strange indeed must be the infatuation to expect panegyric to prevail in a discussion of the causes of his degraded situation. Sir, it is painful to me to advert to a period when the emancipation of his Royal Highness from the supposed restraints of a wise education cast him into all the shameless miseries of debauchery, and the disgrace of unprincipely and profligate friendships. The moment of national impoverishment could not inspire a single dictate of patriotic economy: and, with all the improvidence of delusion, the voracious schemes of gambling harpies, and the fascinations of beauty, plunged him into all the necessities

cessities of anticipated revenue. To expect redemption from that of the public, were to desire the heavy and incumbent pressure of national want to be aggravated by a load of debt rendered shameful by its creation, and ruinous to sustain. So indispensable does it appear to me, Sir, to the due discharge of the duties of the Right Honourable Gentleman's situation, and so little consonant with every thing which my own situation, as a member of this House, renders obligatory to prefer, before any other interest, that of the public, I do with the fullest conviction of the wisdom and true patriotism of the views of the Right Honourable Gentleman, give my most decided negative to the motion of the worthy Alderman."

Mr. Wraxall, who had risen several times, at last caught the eye of the Speaker, and began a speech somewhat
florid,

florid, desultory, and continental, in which we should in vain attempt to follow him *passubus æquis* : but as nearly as the intricacy of foreign names, terms, and connections, will allow a mere English reporter, we think he expressed himself nearly in these words :

“ Sir, when I compiled the history of the house of Valois, rendered so eminent by the ever-memorable names of Francis and Henry, I could have been pleased if, in my researches into the antiquities of Gaul, I could have vindicated the race of those princes from the barbarous origin of the Franconian Goths, and the Scandinavian ancestry of Attila the Hun. The *nil nisi Cecropides* I have ever thought a severe, but a just sarcasm, of Juvenal; and I am sorry to say that, the reigning monarch excepted, the princes of the house of Bourbon, as of Valois,

have

have little to boast of personal or official merit. Whatever my heroes have exhibited of that nature have, as in my own adventures in Copenhagen, consisted principally in acts of gallantry. Sir, though princely inclinations of that sort were in more remote periods of society detrimental to the felicity of the subject, I trust no argument can be drawn from so simple a fact to bear against the motion of the Honourable Alderman. "One swallow, Sir, does not make a summer," The amorous passions are not necessarily connected with the moral or political duties of sovereigns or of heirs apparent. The Autocratrice of all the Russias is a princess of that notorious falacity, that I am astonished honourable gentlemen do not advert to the political innocence of such indulgencies. The allusion, Mr. Speaker, may be thought extreme, and I believe it is; for though Catharine may
be

be like Meffalina, *lassata non satiata*, his Royal Highness has never been charged with the indefatigable talent of a Maximus*. The political parallelism of the idea is what I wish to impress upon the observation of the House. It will instantly carry their imaginations towards the Kneister, where the stimulus of ambition is seen to operate at Cherson with all the dignified virulence of an offended and chastising sovereign. With the velocity of a cossack, this enterprising Czarina travels thousands of miles to carry defiance to the very beard of the Turk." Mr. Wraxall was now interrupted by a cry of "The question, the question." "Do not gentlemen perceive," continued this industrious traveller, "how imme-

* This emperor, when relating to his courtiers his capture of 200 virgins, added, *quarum undecim una nocte inivi*: and we suppose Mr. W. to have alluded to this anecdote.

E

diately

diately allied with the question is the very brief circuit I have led the House with the most able, as the most amorous, of modern potentates; or must I remind them that a similar disposition, though it rendered the ever-necessitous Charles hateful to a once-affectionate and long-forbearing nation, will be no impediment to a restoration of the French provinces, by the *enterprising arms* of the apparent heir of George the third? *Omnia vincit amor!* Sir, the Hyrcinian forest, at this day represented by the small, but beautiful, forest of Arden, unlike the deserts of Siberia affords——” Mr. Wraxall was again interrupted by a general coughing, and vociferation of “Question, the question;” so he finished rather abruptly, by declaring that it was his intention, had the patience of the House permitted him, to have taken a very short, comparative,

native, prospective, and retrospective view of the state of the royal families of Europe, and deduce from the most authentic testimonies of his private correspondence and personal intimacy with all the continental characters, orders, views, systems, and practices, that the interposition of parliament was the only means competent to effect the purpose of the motion of the worthy Alderman; and which he should support by his vote: in order, by the way, he said, to prove, that whatever regret he felt by the strange disconnection of this country with the powers of the continent, but *one* other sentiment or expression in the "short review" bore the smallest trait of his political opinions or literary endowments."

Sir G——y P——e T——r.

"Sir, though I voted against ministry on the shop-tax last month, yet, Sir, I shall

E 2

on

on this occasion vote with them. I think, Sir, that no occasion can arise again, in which I shall vote against the Right Honourable Gentleman at the head of the treasury : for I firmly and verily believe that if any man in England can save this nation, it is the Right Honourable Gentleman; and I have the most implicit faith in his abilities; nay Sir, much more than I have even in my own. For Sir, whenever I do not understand the subject of debate, as in the Irish propositions, or lately in the commercial treaty, I always rely on his talents; and never, I verily believe, was I once mistaken; I mean, [here a cry to question,] Sir, I ask pardon for this digression. Sir, I agree with ministry that an addition to the income of his Royal Highness ought not to be made; nay, Sir, I am of opinion that it would be a very good sort of thing for some gentlemen of abilities to move that “ it is
 “ increased, is increasing, and ought
 to

to be diminished"—Sir, his Royal Highness has 50,000 per annum. It is all a farce, Sir. Lady P——ge and I the other night entered fully into the business, [a laugh] counted up the elegant things that this would furnish. Sir, I am in order, and in the understanding of gentlemen, [here Mr. Dr——ke called "Hear, hear"]. Calculation, Sir, as my worthy absent friend Mr. Eden says, is the ground work of certainty and profit, and he always followed that; and, like myself, always had a book in which domestic matters and the compound interest of every farthing was kept. Sir, on a calculation, I can prove that housekeeping may be within 5000l. per annum, and here Sir are my documents. [Sir Gregory here produced a list of housekeeping expenses, &c. &c. with an advertisement out of the General Advertiser, of block tin kitchen furniture, all within the sum of

ten

ten guineas.] For these reasons, Sir, and because the Right Honourable the C——r of the Exchequer thinks so, I vote against the motion of the worthy Alderman.”

Sir L——d K——n, Master of the
R——lls.

“ I am extremely happy, Sir, to find a spirit of economy begins to pervade this House, and inspire gentlemen with proper confidence in its defence. I am a plain man, to whom the advantages of an early introduction into good company were denied; and whom, indeed, I believe no sunshine of prosperity would ever be able to warm into those little amiable attentions that distinguish fine gentlemen. For my part, Sir, the boasted graces of my Lord Chesterfield have few attractions for me; and, indeed, Lady K——n has
often

often told me that the luxury of clean linen was an enfeebling indulgence, known only to modern days; for I can well remember when Wednesdays and Sundays were the days for shifting in Wales. And this, Sir, brings me locally on the ground of debate. I object to the motion of the worthy Alderman. The Prince of Wales shall never have my vote for what will promote the tendency to corruption in this kingdom, and introduce into his principality those luxuries under a want of which I myself was bred, and in an ignorance of which I believe from my soul the Welch at this day live very happily."

Mr. Martin, Mr. Le Mesurier, and Sir Richard Hill, rose together; but the Speaker bowing to Sir Richard,—The Honourable Baronet congratulated himself on having first caught the eye of the Speaker, and said he trusted that what he should

should have to adduce would be found to deserve a precedence, as his objections to the motion of the worthy Alderman were derived from no point of party, policy or politeness to ministers, but from the inspirations of purity. "Habits of dreaming," continued the Honourable Baronet, and the patience with which this House has formerly heard their interpretations, persuade me that, whatever other Honourable Members have to urge upon the question, no one will dispute this truth: 'that the encouragement of habits of unrighteousness is beneath the dignity of Parliament.' Sir, I mean not to impeach the morality of the worthy Alderman, but he will give me leave to assert the wisdom of obeying the dictates of a conscience, whose purity is uncontaminated by the associations of traffic and the interested combinations of debtor and creditor. In the county of
Salop

Salop resides no creditor of his Royal Highness, no impatience is there discovered of a tardy payment of his princely debts—nor the smallest desire to increase the pageantry of Carlton-house. Unanimously do they exclaim ‘Woe to the land whose princes eat in the morning—but blessed is that land whose princes eat in due season for strength and not for drunkenness.’ [A voice from the gallery here exclaimed, “I bet a tourte to an olio de Prince vins.” The House, upon inquiry, was informed that it proceeded from Weltjie, who had fallen asleep: but the Speaker having ordered him, as a punishment, to keep awake during the remainder of the debate, Sir Richard continued.] “Those religious texts, Mr. Speaker, it highly befits the superintendence of this House not to infringe; and to supply, by their adoption of the motion of the Right Honourable Gentleman, the

F

shameful

shameful negligence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the spiritual courts. Sir, if my zeal as a Christian be exemplary in this House, my sense of duty to Lady Hill, and the unbiaſſed freeholders of the county of Salop, ſhall be inſtantly evinced to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe. It is an axiom coeval with the eſtabliſhment of monaſteries in Europe, that the duties of life ought to be ſubſervient to the rules of piety and moral conduct; nor ought our actions ever to ſwerve from ſuch a direction, for any gratifications that are not connubial. For my own conformity to this principle, I appeal to L—y H—ll. Sir, the agitations of my laſt night's dream were as detrimental to her repoſe, as the viſion which occaſioned them was ominous of the defeat of virtue. I dreamt, Mr. Speaker, that the uncontaminated ſoul of L—y H—ll had ſuffered the temptations of the evil one to ſubvert thoſe practices

practices of purity, and privations of sensuality, which the principles of a sinful and contrite heart impose upon the desires of a frail and lascivious nature. The genius of temptation appeared to my astonished fancy wrestling with the pious partner of my bed; and I was waked from the trance of surprise by the plaintive voice of expiring virtue. "Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning, let us solace ourselves with loves." And after a short pause my astonished ears, Mr. Speaker, were assailed by this wanton madrigal;—

May this warm night, Sir Richard, be
 O men of grateful blifs to me,
 Thou solace of my life!
 For ah! how poorly dreams discharge
 The duties due to both at large,
 Your country and your wife.

As soon as the hubbub and laughter, which this trait of Shropshire purity had occasioned, were over, the Honourable Baronet said, "This wonderful remonstrance, Sir, though unreal and visionary, induced me instantly to discharge one of the duties---and I feel, I assure the House, scarce an inferior degree of satisfaction in making this effort to discharge that which remains due to my country and my political purity, by voting with the Right Honourable Gentleman."

As soon as Sir Richard Hill had finished, Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes rose to engage the attention of the House,

"Dreams," said the Honourable Chamberlain, "we are told, come from Jove; and, were I now a member of the club-room of Achilles, or of any of Homer's heroes, and not a member of the British Par-

Parliament, I would be one of the first here to subscribe to the divinations of the pious Baronet. But, Sir, as I am here a member of parliament, and of course among my brethren of this life, can come little under the charge of divine grace. —As I dream as little as most men, and as I confess that my dreams, when of the ladies, are rarely pious or poetical, I must be allowed, in this place, and thus situated, to give my vote and deliberations without a pretension to any share of preternatural inspiration. Sir, the language which the Honourable Gentleman has used to enforce his moralizing lay may be scriptural, but I believe gentlemen will hardly deem it parliamentary. No man is more an advocate for the breathings of contrition, and the aspirations of devotion, than I am—no man more adverse to the wantonness of profusion—no man more impressed with the obligations of decency,

decency, and the sanctity of moral obligations. Yet, Sir, I confess I am, on this occasion, impressed with ideas different from those of the Honourable Gentleman, and am ready to meet him, text for text, in support of the motion of the worthy Alderman. On an occasion similar, no doubt, to the present has that eloquent preacher Ecclesiastes exclaimed, "Rejoice, O young man! in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; because a man hath no better thing under the sun than to eat, drink, and be merry." To sit silently down amid such a clamour of over-righteousness, and such an alarm of sophistry, would be pardonable, if the sophistry confined itself to the playfulness of speculation—less dangerous than ridiculous: but, Sir, when fallacy of argument is to stand

stand in the front of national proceedings; when the force of error is not only to demolish abstract reasoning, but is to subvert the good sense of human conduct, and finally to triumph over the dignity of this nation; I confess that, however I may, in endeavouring to oppose and confute, feel the insufficiency of my abilities, I am convinced that I shall never have reason to lament a conscientious effort towards the discharge of the great duties that every man in this country, and more especially every member of parliament, owes his own character, and the obligations of his constituents. This is a point, Sir, of that importance, in which the habit of silence, to which I am allied both by diffidence and principle, [a laugh] is to be surmounted; and I most heartily thank the House for their indulgence to my effort towards a conscientious discharge of my duty in giving my
 vote,

vote, which I now do, for the motion of the worthy Alderman."

The editor of this report was so unfortunate as not to be able to procure the written speech which the Chamberlain dispatched to the press, and which we hear was long, pious, versatile, and elegant.

As soon as Mr. Chamberlain was seated, Mr. Courtney arose, and began by congratulating the House upon that stream of light, that flood of intellectual effulgence, which he said equally, on all mighty and momentous occasions, issued from the pious and noble baronet; who, like some winged messenger, pacing on a meteor from the skies, at once edified, exhorted, eradiated, and astonished! "He has so luminously lightened o'er the point in debate," continued Mr. Courtney, "and
so

so effectually, by his reasoning and eloquence, thundered away the clouds and thick darkness which seemed to involve and envelope the Heir Apparent and the throne, the Alderman, the Treasury-bench, and the question, that now the true complexion and real position of each is palpable as a post, and plain as a pike-staff.

Sir, the noble Baronet has dreamt like a spirit of health against a goblin d—d: and notwithstanding the worthy and conscientious Chamberlain seems envious of, and hostile to, this Salopian vision, and is pleased to suppose it more pious and poetical, than pertinent or parliamentary, in this opinion I must differ from him entirely, essentially, and toto cœlo. For I will contend and maintain the diametric and direct converse of the assertion, *pugnis et calcibus unguibus et rostro*. And who

G

will

will have the forehead to deny that this transcendent dream of the devout Baronet is much more sensible, solid, and satisfactory than the baseless fabric of many a vision, which the right honourable gentleman has often reared within these walls.

Many patriots and heroes, Mr. Speaker, have *watched* and *waked* for the commonwealth and their posterity; nay, all this did even a Roman goose perform—but what patriot, or what goose—*the noble Baronet only excepted*, ever dreamt of *sleeping* either for the solace of the sex, or the good of their country?

Here Mr. Courtney burst forth, as it were by inspiration—

Sir Richard is a patriot knight,
Who dreams so wise and witty;
He ought to dream both day and night,
And dwell in London City.

O thither

O thither shou'd he once translate
 His family from Salop;
 How would he cleanse affairs of state,
 Beyond a dose of jalap.

With texts the worthy Chamberlain,
 Might cram him to the chin,
 And from his partner, might and main,
 Expel the man of sin.

That Imp. who on his pious head,
 Essay'd a lew'd incision;
 To blemish Lady Hill in bed,
 A devil of a vision!

Of Mr. P—y's speech we shall not attempt a report; it was fervently delivered in favor of the motion, but the unexpected, and somewhat extraordinary speech which Mr. S—t thought fit to make for the first time, induces us to contract, or be quite silent on the speeches of several other hon. members, Mr. Marsham, Sir Francis Basset, and Lord Mulgrave. Mr. S—— began

which he thought he should ever have maintained; and though it was not his lot to be endowed with those eminent talents which many gentlemen had displayed that night, yet as he spoke on a subject which demanded little of the arts of oratory, he trusted he might expect their attention. Political knowledge, said Mr. S——t, the science of government, the arts of legislation, were the result of study, and required talents which every one did not possess; but the sentiments of right and wrong were implanted in the breast of every man, and the most common understanding was sufficient to discriminate between vice and virtue, folly and wisdom, infamy and decency. It was this common understanding in a man, in whom neither the fashion of the age, nor the cry of a party had destroyed that sense of decency,

cency, nor levelled the distinction between an honourable and reprobate conduct, that induced him to declare thus openly, the grounds of the vote he should that night give, and the reasons of his differing so widely with the sentiments of some gentlemen who had spoken with an enthusiasm worthy of a better cause. The motion that had been made by the worthy Alderman, and he was sorry to say seconded and supported by great characters, and great abilities, was, that an address be presented to his M—— to order an enquiry into the affairs of the Prince of Wales, and relieve him from his embarrassed situation. He would allow, he said, that the reduced revenues of H. R. H. were inferior to his high and exalted rank, and inadequate to the support of his proper dignity. But before gentlemen came to a decision on

H

that

that motion, would it not be proper, would it not better become the office and dignity of that House to ascertain what title H. R. H. had to their interference, what claims upon their bounty? if he had any, the motion should have his hearty assent, but should it appear that he had forfeited all title to their extraordinary services, all claim to their extraordinary bounty, it would certainly consist with the constitutional dignity of that House, to declare to the world, by adopting the motion of the right hon. gentlemen, their sentiments of his actions. For his part, he would boldly declare, and it would be in his opinion, a treachery to his country if he did not, that the conduct of H. R. H. met with his most decided condemnation. He would briefly state the grounds of his disapprobation, and the reasons which
had

had influenced his mind in such a judgment. The conduct of a P—— of W——, said Mr. S——, is not to be weighed in the same scale with that of any other individual subject in this kingdom. It was not, he said, more trite than true, that the highest stations were those, in which folly and vice were the most blameable, because their effects were more ruinous and dreadful by their diffusion. If a man in private life chose to plunge into excesses of every kind, if he wasted his fortune in low and indecent pleasures, if he abandoned every principle of generous pride, and degraded himself by familiarities with undeserving inferiors, if he treated with neglect and disdain, those to whom he owed his being, and whom he was bound by every tie of nature, and every obligation of decency to reverence and

obey, what was this to the public?—it hurt not them.—Such a man would be contemptible, but his example was not dangerous; he suffered himself alone—he wasted his estate—was deserted by his companions—disinherited by his family, atoned for the follies of his youth by the sufferings of his age, and perhaps was of some service to society by the force of his example, in deterring others from the path of vice and indecency; but, said Mr. S—, when the neglect of that duty which a man owes to himself, extends beyond the sphere of his own misery, when the greatness of his example, by giving a sanction to vice, depraves the manners and principles of a country, attacks the very foundations of society, and destroys that happiness which the prevalence of morality and virtue can alone bestow—such a man
cease

ceases to be an object of contempt alone—he becomes odious and dangerous, and his conduct is the proper subject of public animadversion and inquiry. He might be asked, to what did these reflections tend? did they apply to a man on whom nature had bestowed every virtue, every grace, every kindly affection, every great and good quality of the head and heart—a standard of morality, a phenomenon of genius, the arbiter of wit and elegance, the ornament and delight of human kind? Thus had he sometimes been represented. It might be the proper business of orators, and at times, perhaps, of party, so to embellish vice: it became a plain man to exhibit it in its naked deformity. If there were any vice, which more peculiarly than any other rendered a man contemptible in society, and miserable

to

to himself, which wasted every power of the human frame, destroyed every faculty of the mind, and depressed him below the level of his species, it certainly was inebriety. He would ask Hon. Gentlemen, did they think such a character deserving of applause, or of censure? —there could be but one answer. What then would they say of a P— of —, a guardian of the national manners, who gave countenance to such a vice by his example, who, in violation of all decency was not ashamed to be seen reeling through the streets of the capital. That this was a truth, he would appeal to every waiter of every tavern, who daily saw the H— to the C—, the man who was at some future time (and he prayed to God that time might be far distant) to govern the realm, and be one of the first among the

the rulers of the earth, in those disgraceful moments of intemperance and folly. Such a scene, said Mr. S——, it might be thought was the last effort of indecorum—but one folly was generally the parent of another, and a greater: the violation of every principle of propriety, of all sense of dignity was not yet complete, and the riot of a tavern, and the public exhibition of intemperance was to be crowned by the infamy of a b——l. Such was the progression of vice; and in those scenes of meretricious enjoyment, where the mind was debased, and the body corrupted, this exalted P—— had not scorned to be an actor. But this, it might be said, was the error of youth, when the inexperience of what was right, excused the commission of what was wrong. In this last instance it might be so—but
the

the *quid decet*, said Mr. S—— is not the result of experience, but the constituent of honour, and the soul of virtue. Would to God, continued the Hon. Member, there were no room for censure ! —the subject was delicate—the interest was dear—he knew not how to touch upon it—but—a connexion—mysterious—unintelligible—reprobated by the people—whether with reason or not he would not pretend to determine—and which excited alarms—perhaps groundless alarms, for their religion—their quiet—peace and happiness—a connexion imprudent in its formation, illegal in its existence—and to suffer it to continue unpublished, or unexplained, is to shew a contempt of the cry of the nation—the opinion of the world.

It was a painful task, continued Mr S——, to descend to the detail of the
vices

vices or follies of any man, and must be as disgusting to the House as he declared it was to himself—but if the exposition were hateful, the concealment would be treacherous—his sense of duty to his country superseded his objections, and he could not shrink from the task. If the House already felt with him upon the question, still more Mr. S— said he believed they would have reason to censure his R. H. for the choice of his companions and his friends. Who were these? the palaces to which his birth had given him admittance supplied not one—the houses of the nobility were no longer the asylum of a disobedient son—the happy refuge of a deserted P—, from these houses he could not collect a friend—one hateful cause had proscribed him from the amity of patriot hearts—and he was fain to turn to the refuge of im-

I morality,

morality, to find an arm to support him through the streets. But should he seek a friend, a friend of the bosom, "where are we" (exclaimed Mr. S——, apparently warmed with his subject,) "to find him!" if it were the Right Hon. Gentleman (said Mr. S——, pointing to Mr. F——) the nation might not be without hope—but if a foreigner, a man who was a dishonour to his country and a disgrace to human nature, a rare example of all that was base and vicious, without one good quality of the head or heart, to palliate or excuse his vice: if such a man were to be called the *friend* of the H— a—t of the C——, would not its condition be miserable, its fortune without hope of future glory? The science, the genius, the wit of some men cast a veil over their follies, and made us willing to forget them; but the sensuality
of

of this man was rendered more detestable by its grossness and inelegance. If it were that delusion of a refined taste of pleasure, of the *eruditi luxus*, which characterised some men in that house, it might be pardonable, but it was that of an abandoned, brutal debauchee, without decency, without elegance, without the manners or the principles of a gentleman. The Hon. Member said he was sorry to be compelled to use terms as gross as the vices they were intended to describe, and to censure; but it was unavoidable; such was the character of the person he was speaking of, that his own countrymen, as remarkable for the politeness and decency of their manners, as for the servile respect they paid to rank and power, never mentioned his name, without violating the national characteristic,

and attaching the appellation of *Black-guard** to the title of ———

Much praise had been lavished upon his ———, for the elegance of his occupation, for his cultivation of the fine arts, and for the protection he extended to men of genius, but the plaudits of flattery, and the echo of parasites, were not the mirror of truth. One would think, by their report, that every muse dwelt within the walls of his palace. In his opinion, a P—— of ——— should be something more than the arbiter of dress or fashion, the hero of a dance, or the leader of a concert. Pursuits which might be amiable and laudable in private men would only detract from royalty; and for his part, he would

* The French word *Polisson*, is rather more decent.

rather

rather see a P—— employed in the study of the laws, the customs, the constitution of that country he was born to govern, than in producing discordant notes from a “viola di gambo.”

After a variety of other observations, which it is needless (or rather which we are afraid) to report, Mr. S. said he would no longer trespass on the patience of the house; he conjured them, if the conduct of the P—— appeared to them in the same colours of depravity as it was beheld by his eyes, he would conjure them to declare their censure of it, by voting against the motion of the worthy Alderman; for, said he, the welfare or misery of the country might depend on the decision of that night. If his H—— had forfeited the affection of the people, it was of the highest consequence that he should

should know it. But from whom? Would the ophants who surrounded him; would faction which made an handle of his defects; would the *good*, the *virtuous* Duke of—— in the rude sincerity of Gallic friendship, whisper this momentous truth in his ear? No. From that house alone would he be informed of it, and the time would come when H. H. would thank him for the censure which tends to reinstate him in the affections of the people. Mr. S. concluded by observing the part he had taken in the debate of that night, might incur the odium of many, both within and without doors; every supporter of v——e, every scavenger of opposition would load him with obloquy; he heeded it not—he had lived to see the day when a single vote was no longer ridiculed, nor a Keppel deemed

ed

ed the favour of his country ; the time too he hoped would come, when the censorial office of that house should chastise the vices of a ———

Mr. Fox instantly rose, and proceeded in a speech of considerable length, whose warmth of language, energy of argument, variety and brilliancy of thought, and fire of delivery we attempt not to follow. Sorry we are, that the limits of memory will commit to the public eye a display so little like the eloquent effusions of that great master of oratory, in a cause in which he seemed inspired by the dignity of truth, the force of conviction, and the feelings of friendship. Mr. Fox proceeded somewhat in the following manner :

S I R,

S I R,

When I came down to this house, it was with the greatest confidence in the merits of the cause, which I have heard so ably supported by my honourable friends. Sir, I expected the opposition of administration, for I was well convinced that the system of error, that has been the rule of their conduct, would on this occasion, not want the consistency, that denies by obstinacy, all admissions of truth and conviction. But I did not expect to hear from them, or from any gentlemen, that torrent of gross abuse, and that clamour of calumny; that persecution of malice and of misrepresentation from which it falls to my share, in common with other friends of oppressed magnanimity, to vindicate the character and virtues of his R—l H—. The honourable gentleman, who has just sat down,
has

has gone much at large into a variety of points, which I could not have foreseen would this night have been agitated; which, I neither deemed subject to criticism, nor at all decent objects of its strictures. I give the fullest credit to the sincerity and honesty of the Hon. Gentleman's motives, and though I profess not to equal his warmth of language, I trust a candid investigation of his speculations, and of the novelty of his political ethics will convince us, that warmth, however a proof of sincerity, is not always so of accuracy, and that the best intentions, and the most honest zeal will hardly compensate their misdirection and subserviency to inhumanity and unmanly designs. With an acrimony better suited to censures of the most flagrant criminality has the Hon. Gentleman descended to minute schemes

K

of

of youthful gratification; and with a fidelity that looks somewhat like malice, has he scented out every pathway of amusement or pleasure, that his R—— H—— ever trod. The extravagance of the P—— of W—— is a subject that demands less the liberal tolerance of the man of sentiment and fashion, than a candid attention to certain great facts, in the existence of which his R—— H—— is not answerable, as they are independent of him. It is true, Sir, that when we compare the income of his R—— H——, with the income of most of the nobility of this country, we shall find it greatly superior: but in taking a view of the merits of this question, we must place its subject matter, in all the relations and sections, which the peculiar character of the P—— of W—— describes. When we draw our estimate from the
royalty

royalty annexed to the character of his R. H; when we see his dignity, his splendor, his magnificence, and the elevated character he bears in the national perspective, all intimately blended with the dignity, the splendor, and magnificence of this country; when we feel that his rank is a part of the constitution of the government of England; that he is a great political character; that agreeably to the constitution of the country, which he is one day to govern, an antedated species of royalty, is annexed to his mode of living; that he has a court—I mean that he had a court!—whose various official duties are not to be disgraced by the penury of a mean and ignoble accommodation; where we see and feel this, we shall, Sir, be better enabled to appreciate the relative value of his allowance, with the objects

which its expenditure embraces. In this discussion it will be necessary to forsake the narrow pathway in which a private individual treads the "noiseless tenor" of æconomy, and mount our ideas into the higher region of grandeur, in which his R. H. is destined to move. In the first instance, the cottage may be selected as the object of choice, and the disposition may indulge itself at will and at ease in its peculiar bent; its accommodation of mode is an essential part of the act of existence: it may pursue, within its narrow and unobserved sphere of action, all the various humours that diversify human society and deportment, in the elegance of a proportionate expenditure, or in the retirement of a sullen seclusion; but a P. of W. is bound in a destiny of grandeur, which, as it is not an object of choice, so neither can its necessary relations

lations be the subject of censure. We should be at a loss to discover the source of so much honest error, as the Hon. Gentleman has displayed to-night, did we not reflect that he, with many other country Gentlemen, may have received his impressions of dissipation and extravagance, possibly in a scene of academic abridgement, or in the severer school of domestic restriction. A mind long habituated to the routine of rural œconomics, which, from a state of infancy, the practice of near and valued relatives may have endeared; accustomed in the retirement of provincial regularity, to scan with a scrutiny rather accurate than enlarged, the various scenes of fashionable life to which it is a stranger; and to measure the degrees of enjoyment, rather by the cheapness and facility with which they may be attained, than

than by the elegance with which they may be displayed: Such a mind, Sir, under these impressions, and this discipline, might startle at expences of royal magnificence, to which it had been unused, or which, when made the object of contemplation, were at the same time the subject of its lamentations. Such a mind would be led to estimate the measure of expenditure by the scale of necessity, and, from its own subdued aspirations after grandeur, be cynically prone to stamp as extravagant, whatever gratifications its own taste had not classed among the luxuries of life. It would mistake the decorations of taste for the caprice of idleness, and draw its estimate of an enlarged generosity, from the value it had been accustomed to affix to the wantonness of profusion.

In order to form a just idea of men,
and

and their conduct, it is candid, it is common justice to view them as acting relatively to their peculiar situation. View his R. H. under this impression, try his conduct as to his expences, by the obligations resulting from his situation, and I will be bold to assert, that however some years of his expenditure may have exceeded, his income, the excess was occasioned, more by the generosity incident to a young mind of the most ample endowments and most splendid expectations ; by an inexperience that is exclusively the companion of unsuspecting magnanimity, than by a wantonness of extravagance, or an abandonment of decency.

At the time when his R. H. came of age, a large sum must have been somewhere—it ought to have been in his treasury—arising from his principality.. To
this,

this, as P—— of W——, he was undoubtedly intitled. The wisdom of our ancestors deemed a certain degree of magnificence necessary to the heir Ap——t of the B—— Th——e. Arguing with great good sense from the passions and feelings of private persons, to those of royal personages, they judged rightly, as they felt generously, that the transition from the situation of subject, as P—— of W—— to that of Mon——h, should not form too powerful a contrast in the station left, and that succeeded to. They knew that royalty, with all its fascinating assemblages of splendor, power, and influence, would dazzle a mind unaccustomed to its rays, and they therefore made the establishment of the Heir Ap——t, correspondent to the dignity possessed, and to the situation anticipated.

I appeal to the knowledge of this
House,

House, whether the revenues of which I have spoken, are not destined by law as I have stated; whether they have been applied agreeably to such destination—and I appeal to their sense of justice, whether they ought not to have been appropriated to the establishment of his R—— H——. They have not been appropriated to his funds. They have been swallowed in the vortex of royal mortmain; they have been diverted from that channel, in which they would have nourished the virtues of generosity, charity, and a bountiful munificence, to swell the tide, already too powerful, that overflows the banks of r—l influence. Here, Sir, I make no plea to the generosity of this house—but a plea, just, constitutional, and founded in no refining sentiment, but in the principles of common honesty and justice, which give

L

to

to every one his due—from this ground it is, I dare expect an addition; from this it is I demand for his R— H— an indemnification for the abuse of his rights.

When I take a view of the reasons and progress of that supposed extravagance, which has been so animatedly handled this night, and so glaringly held forward to countenance a breach of justice, disgraceful to Ad——n; I confess, I am at a loss, whether most to admire and applaud that very conduct so warmly stigmatized, or to wonder at the blindness and malice of those who censure it. The anticipation of the revenues of his R— H—, is a subject that calls for the most open discussion; and the accession to certain political tenets, involved in it, is what I never expected would meet the minds of gentlemen on that side of the house.

house. It involves in its reasons and causes, some great traits of political design, which, when closely viewed and pursued in their consequences, will, I trust, be not the objects of present pleasure and eulogium only, but furnish a prospect of His R. H.'s character, that will one day be the theme of national exultation. It has been the fate of most of the K—gs of England to receive their education extremely behind the curtain of human life. In a state of almost monastically reclusive grandeur, they have remained unacquainted with mankind. It is little to be wondered at that such frequent instances should occur in our history of abuse of those rights, among which they had never actively mingled; and that the temper and political mind of the S——n should receive certain impressions unfriendly to freedom, and incorrigible by experience.

The education of his R. H. is as new in its plan, as it will be found salutary in its effects on his future political life. In its more advanced stage it was conducted, not on the principles, of whose operations an unacquaintance with life and men was a natural consequence—Not shut up within that repulsive and fullen dignity of state and seclusion that estranges the monarch from the man, and which, by keeping him ignorant of others, deprives him of himself; we have seen his Royal H. mingle a cultivation of the philosophy of human manners, with the ideas and pursuits of his exalted station. “*Felices illos quorum fides et industria, non per internuntios et interpretes, sed ab ipso, nec auribus, sed oculis, probantur.*”

A degree of popularity, unknown to the education of our princes, was blended with the ancient system, which, when strictly adhered to, was found to be attended

tended with a haughtiness unallied with real dignity, and by an ignorance of men and their rights, that easily made them the dupes of unconstitutional designs, and all the baneful influence of an ever to be execrated secret influence. It has been usual in this country to keep the H— Ap———t as much from the world as possible—to give him his tutors for his inmates; and it has not seldom happened that the director of his early studies has been both unfriendly to the constitution, and the secret director of machinations against it. Popularity was looked on as either dangerous to the reigning influence, that with false affectation dreaded a division of real sunshine, or as derogatory to real dignity. We need not go very far back into a history of the calamities of this country; into a detail of the effects of an influence, enormous, secret, dark,
greater

greater than the throne itself, to prove the effects of an education of the H— Ap——t, fatal, when conducted on a plan of seclusion, of favoritism, and of ignorance of the active interests of this country. And surely I must be within the conception of gentlemen, when I assert that this country is not unacquainted with the unconstitutional effects of an education of this species. The good sense, the generosity, and the magnanimity of his R—— H——, early taught him to know the dreadful consequences that result from that seclusion from the friends to his government, from whom alone he was most likely to derive constitutional habits of thinking. These principles of the mind had in him a prematurity, that at an early age led him to a cultivation of that part of the nation, [Here was an unusual cry of hear him, hear him.] ---which professed the purest principles of the

the constitution ; and an attention to that influence, baneful and unconstitutional, which he traced to the incorrigible habits of a contrary education, taught his liberal mind, that, however, an abhorrence of the principles of that influence, which he lamented might detach him from the supporters of them, his happiness as K—g of E—gl—d, to which station he naturally, though with filial piety looked forward, was to be best attained by an early cultivation of the principles of civil liberty, and an early habit of friendship with its friends and advocates. Thus disposed to social intercourse—averse to that fullen confinement in which an ignorance of human nature, and an hostility to its rights, are most easily united and imbibed, we see his R—H—— step boldly into that great world, which from an innate philanthropy

thropy he loved, and for which his virtues and splendid accomplishments formed him an illustrious ornament. On this great theatre a part was destined him worthy of his station ; and we have seen him in all respects, wherein the great virtues of the man, or the munificence of the P—— could be displayed, conduct himself, as might be expected, with generosity, charity, and munificence.

It is impossible for any man to know his R. H. and not recognise the great and the good that distinguish the man of fashion in his deportment, the man of genius in his talents, and in his numerous acts of benevolence, the virtues of generosity, condescension, and a manly conduct, that stamp a weight and a dignity, independent of rank and title. Whatever is amiable and valuable in
temper ;

temper; whatever we esteem in the friend, or admire in the companion, will be found to be most unostentatiously and singularly combined in the character of his R. H.—To a progress in the arts and in elegant attainment beyond most of his age, and eminently distinguished in them; to a taste that has rendered him among the fashionable, the *arbiter elegantiarum* of Europe, the model of grace and happiness of selection; eliciting the genius of his countrymen in the various display of invention in the mechanic arts,—to this his R. H. adds the graces of literature, and the happy endowments of an uncommon facility in and intimacy with the languages of Europe. Such is the man on whose august name the tongue of invective has thrown the aspersions of every species of degradation. If the ardor of youth has ever betrayed his R. H. into excesses; if the prying and critical

M

eye

eye of active, busy, hostile partizans has ever followed him where chastity would not go, or through a career of youthful enjoyment ; if the cold and phlegmatic spy and eaves-dropper have detected him in those flights of passion to which they never may have aspired ; and it shall even be proved before the censorial court of prudence that in some moments of unguarded privacy and relaxation, he has not acted the philosopher, the miser, and the misanthrope ; the candid and the generous, who have hearts to feel and passions to indulge, will satisfy themselves with a judgement not more severe upon the character of his R. H. than that which they would form on any gentleman and man of honor ; and conclude as liberality and candor suggest to every enlightened mind, with the proofs of those virtues which he has so eminently displayed, the
excesses

excesses of which have this night been his atrocious crimes.

But, Sir, the faults of his R. H. as a mere man actuated by a lively taste for pleasure, are not his only misfortunes, during this process, this torture of his character. These find their apology, did they need one in the generosity of the mind. They are answered by the retrospect of every gentleman's life, and need but a recurrence to the history of every man's progress of character, to meet the most complete refutation. Fearful of failing where nature so powerfully opposed them, the enemies of his R. H. have gone into a theme of declamation, that they thought applied to the more fundamental duties of moral life, and were the indispensable obligations in the relation of son and father. His R. H. is accused of acting the part of filial dis-

obedience, and of open indecency in his conduct toward his M——ty. Sir, this is a favourite topic with shallow minds, and of such as are accustomed to carry their ideas of political obligation from their own bosoms and situations into their reasonings on all occasions, and on all subjects. This ground is not tenable for a moment when we reflect that his R. H. is to be considered in this house, not only in the character of one of the R— Family, and as son to his M——ty, but he is to be viewed as a political character, born a member of the Legislature of this country, and invested with honors and dignities independent of the C——n, and derived from the constitution. In the character of a Peer he is an independent member of the House of L——ds. As a man he is possessed of the inestimable and unalienable right to his own opinion and way of thinking. To destroy

destroy this right would be to violate the common rights of mankind. To censure his R. H. for a compliance with his own political principles, is to destroy the right of private judgement; and is not therefore the conduct which this house, by its decision to night on this part of the charge, will adopt. I will not take, Sir, upon me to say how far a P. of W. might go in opposition to his R. F.'s political tenets and to his administration; but I will be bold to assert that the freedom of opinion in an Englishman is his happiness, and that as a Peer of the realm his R. H. is not to be deprived of this great right.

I beg pardon of the House for such a trespass upon their patience, and with a few observations more will conclude. The opposition of min——y to this measure was, what I expected from the known
 hostility

hostility of their common deportment to his R. H.—The right honourable gentleman has affected with his imposing air of principle to say, that his opposition on this occasion, has like the other whimsical steps of his administration, proceeded on grounds of patriotism, and on a reluctance to increase the burthens of the country. But, though he intrench himself within the fastness of ministerial resource, and shelter his conduct under the shield of motives which no penetration can explore, I defy even the chicanery, with all its *copia fandi*, that so eminently mark the powers of the right honourable gentlemen, to prove to the satisfaction of this House how his duty to his country can be implicated by the proposed accommodation; how the happiness of his country can be affected by an act that would rescue from embarrassment her greatest ornament; and how the cause of honesty and virtue can
be

be wounded, by doing justice to that man, who to do justice to others, with a magnanimity equalled but in heroic fiction, has resigned the splendour of a Court and the patronage of a P——e; who to be just has been willing for a time to cease to appear great. No, Sir, to the enmity alone, which a disposition, adverse to those men whom his R. H. condescends to call his friends, is the shallow artifice to be imputed. Not all the rhetoric that so highly distinguishes the right honourable gentleman from every other member of this house, can reconcile a sense of duty with a disregard to the prosperity of the second personage in the kingdom. And lamentable is the thought, that the royal ear can be poisoned by ministerial suggestions, dictated by party pique and party malevolence. Sir, the vote of his R. H. on the India Bill is not forgotten —It is to be revenged. The exercise
of

of an inestimable right when adverse to min——l designs is to be revenged. The scrutiny business is to be visited on the head of his R. H.

The benign mind of our most gracious Sovereign is incapable of harbouring animosities. Of the India Bill it can know but as of an abstract point. It can know of the scrutiny, but as an abstract point, in which its interference would have been unconstitutional. To administration, Sir, alone must this opposition and this clamour be ascribed; and I now warn them against such conduct, as the most unjust and unpopular measure, that a misguided and infatuated administration ever attempted or perpetrated.

Mr. Fox here recapitulated his forcible arguments for an addition, in a strain of high eulogium on the zeal of the honourable

rable Alderman who made the motion, and finished his speech for giving it his hearty support.

Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Pitt rose together—but Mr. Sheridan saying he had but a few words to observe in answer to an honourable Member who so remarkably spoke that evening, Mr. Pitt sat down and Mr. Sheridan said—“ After the vindication, which my right honourable friend has impressed upon the minds of the House, with all that fervor of eloquence and cordiality which so peculiarly characterize him, it would seem unnecessary for me to trespass upon the indulgence of the House. Gentlemen are naturally impatient to end a discussion painful to every good heart, but as the honourable gentleman, whose criminating imagination and virulence of invective, have been so completely exhibited and confuted, may

N

glorify

glorify himself in the silent neglect of my right honourable friend, on two articles of supposed criminality; I am reluctantly forced to trespass upon that impatience. I will indulge the honourable gentleman with a word or two; but I shall not, any more than my right honourable friend, attempt to refute absurdities. My right honourable friend here regards them too directly with the eye of contempt, to have allowed those futile charges to add a single spark to that indignation, which so evidently animated his manly, loyal, and I may with propriety call it, his friendly vindication.

Sir—The intimacy of his R. H. with a certain P——e of the B——d R——l of F——e, is one of the circumstances, which the terrors of dotage and the illiberality of secluded age have thought fit to depress into criminality. The imputation

tion is too groundless and indecent to suffer me to obtrude the concerns of an illustrious foreigner before the domestic tribunal of a House of Commons, but I trust, the necessity under which I stand to vindicate his R. H. from the aspersions of malignity, will justify the attempt. But surely, Sir, when the honourable gentleman thinks fit to discard the maxims of benevolent construction, it might be expected that the imprudence of public investigation would have received some check from the caution of old age. However heinous, in his estimation of social relation, may appear the intercourse of princely minds, I am persuaded neither of the R—l P—g—s arraigned will accept the shield of hypocrisy presented to them by the example of the honourable gentleman himself. I can only find an apology for his error in the character of his heart, and in the zeal

of an hypocritical morality. To unravel the intricacies of his accusation, it is only necessary to trace the progress of rumour; and all the momentous dread of danger to the state and to morality, will be found to arise from the wildness of fancy, and the misconstructions of imbecillity. At the approach of right reason the visionary creation will dissolve, and history will record the fact without the deformities of malicious interpretations. Might I presume to dictate to the muse of history in this particular, I would recommend a brief survey of those illiberal restraints which, in the more enlightened stage of society, have been discarded with all the indignation of generous hearts. The errors of fanaticism, and that rudeness of mind, which succeeded their partial destruction, must be shewn to cast a shade over improving manners by a barbarity of sentiment, which, forty years ago, was

was, with his other possessions, the inheritance of the honourable gentleman. The minds of Princes will be seen reciprocally to reflect the lustre of liberal intercourse, and to smile at the imputations of inherited illiberality, and obstinate dotage. Her report may conclude by reflecting in terms of a just reproach upon the patience of the House, who have listened with more than a merited attention to the dreams of pusillanimity, and the enormities of malicious interpretation—but, I trust, have only listened with patience, to reject with detestation.

The other article of the honourable gentleman's charge, very properly unnoticed by my right honourable friend, is a matter of less delicacy, as it involves none but domestic considerations; but to no man acquainted with the laws of his country, as the honourable gentleman is supposed

supposed to be, could be magnified into a question of the finallest moment. A mind impregnated by the confused ideas of ignorance and timidity, may convert a connection of apparent delicacy and refinement, into a meteor of unpropitious omen ; but by an attentive perusal of the Act of Parliament, which regulates the marriages of the Royal Family, where the utter impossibility of a just alarm from the connexion alluded to is fully demonstrated, the anxieties of a patriotic mind may be appeased. But the honourable gentleman must allow me to observe to him, that the intrusion he has thought proper to make, by this public enquiry into the amusements of his R. H. is a mark of disrespect, that cannot be authorized by the rumours of illiberal whisperings, or the timid suggestions of extra-senatorial zeal.

If

If the honourable gentleman will permit me to present him with a solution of what is deemed mysterious and formidable in this connection, I will not suppose himself an instance of caducity, which sometimes mistakes wantonness of thought for vigour of constitution; and that the illusive stimulus of a diseased imagination had hurried him into one of those haunts of debauchery, he has so accurately exhibited, and to which even age is not seldom seen shamelessly to resort. No, Sir, I will neither flatter the h—— gentleman by imputing to him, so transitory and imperfect an incentive to gratification, nor insult the dignity of truth and sentiment by drawing such a parallel. But a parallel does present itself to my mind, and it shall be a lesson of charity to the honourable gentleman. He will allow me to suppose that in the neighbourhood of his Essex mansion, some widow of powerful

erful attractions resided—that under her hospitable roof he had found a shelter from the “peltings of a pitiless storm”—that from the adventure of that day a friendship had commenced which happily diverted him from the more hateful pursuits of petulant age, and gave that repose to his mind, and that elegant diversion to its pursuits which by fixing his own felicity, rendered him the more amiable to his friends. Let the honourable gentleman fancy himself become suddenly the object at which malevolence takes her aim, and the envenomed dart of malignant suspicion is let loose—I would then ask him, with what temper of mind he would bear the sentence of a neighbour, who should distort a connection sanctified by honor and liberality, into an event ominous of ruin to his friends, and disinheritance to his heir. I will tell the honourable gentleman, that he would not bear it with the magnanimity

mity which smiles at defamation and contemns the defamer."

The reply which Mr. Pitt made was uncommonly concise, and substantially as follows.

Sir—After the vast range of argument which gentlemen have allowed their minds to take upon a motion, which is only to be met by the more respectful repulse of silence, and the strong ground of irregularity, and a breach of those rules which this House has hitherto scrupulously observed in all questions which involve discussions of a dignity so eminent, and of a nature so private, and derogatory to that right of control inherent in the crown over the subordinate members of the royal family, I should think it unnecessary to advert to the terms of the motion, and of the debate, had not

O

the

the most extraordinary speech of the right honourable gentleman rendered my silence liable to a construction, which I should be sorry to have impressed upon the house for a single moment. The right honourable gentleman has thought fit to insert into his arguments in support of the motion of the worthy alderman, considerations as foreign to it, as they are demonstrative of a mind that has discarded those notions of decency, by which the good intelligence of mankind is upheld, and which ought most particularly to sway, where their dismissal tends to degrade the eminent station of the royal personage, whose interests are intended to be asserted. To that royal personage I am ever solicitous to prefer my most fervent testimonies of respect, but I hold in abhorrence those adulations of flattery, which tend only to degrade the idol they would exalt. Happily, his royal mind is not to be influenced by

by the suggestions of parasitical followers; and I shall be content to abide by its determination, whether the charges of the right honourable gentleman do not originate more in the illusions of his own mistaken zeal, than in any circumstance attached to my situation, or my inclination. I am no wise envious of the merit of service which the honourable gentleman may, in the boldness of his conjectures, claim by the imputation he would fix upon myself, as dictating upon the present occasion to the royal breast. The impertinence and indelicacy of such a conduct, may, very likely, strike the right honourable gentleman, as very weak obstacles, and easily to be overcome. Daring as the worthy alderman accuses my administration to be, and I should be loth it were a whit less effectively so, it has never undertaken a measure, either injurious to the country, or insulting to the crown. To obtrude other

O 2 considerations

considerations of a quality so extremely delicate, and in no wise correspondent with parliamentary purposes, is no less a mark of indiscretion, than a detraction from that true dignity of his Royal Highness, which, when regarded with the eyes of a true respect, must appear superior to all encomium. To obey therefore the suggestions of that respect, with which the motion of the honourable alderman ought to be received, I do, in the most categorical terms, deny every particle of charge or insinuation, which the right honourable gentleman has felt proper to advance upon the occasion, as involving my situation in the opposition to it, upon any other grounds, than those of informality of proceeding, and disrespect to the crown in the first instance, and my sense of the necessity, of applying every shilling of the public revenue, to purposes of public expediency.

For

For these reasons, I am sure, I shall best prove my due consideration for the necessities of the state by supporting, as I do, Sir, the order of the day. Several members now rose, but a general cry of Question, question, would not prevail against Mr. Le Mesurier's very pertinacious efforts to be heard—and we could just distinguish in the uproar, that “ He lamented no opportunity had been given to him of delivering his sentiments on a question that involved so important an object. This question, Sir—involves—the most important subject—no less, Sir, than—no less than—no less than the—happiness, Sir—Sir, I say the happiness and dignity of the h—r a——t of the c——n. I—I—I—am convinced—convinced, Sir, that every Englishman feels as I—do—that every Englishman feels as I do when I assert that—that—when I assert that——” Here a cough parliamentary

tary took place under the most violent call for the question—and the gallery being cleared, we are waiting with impatience the momentous result of the division.

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS in this DEBATE.

Mr. Alderman Newnham

Lord John Cavendish

Mr. Pitt

Mr. Powys

Sir James Erskine

Mr. H. Browne

Mr. Wraxall

Sir R. Hill

Mr. Alderman Wilkes

Mr. Courtenay

Sir G. P. Turner

Sir Lloyd Kenyon

Mr. Pulteney

reported

Mr. Strutt

Mr. Fox

Mr. Sheridan

Mr. Pitt

Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier.

F I N I S.

This Day is published,
Price TWO SHILLINGS,

A
S U P P L E M E N T
TO THE
TOUR THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN,

Containing a CATALOGUE of the
Antiquities, Houses, Parks, Plantations, Scenes,
and Situations, in England and Wales,

Arranged according to the alphabetical Order of the
several Counties;

By the late Mr. GRAY,

Author of the "ELEGY written in a Country Church
" Yard."

To which are now added, by another Hand,
Several Additions; also Blank Spaces at the End, to enable
every Traveller or Reader to make his own Remarks or
Corrections.

Printed for G. KEARSLEY, at Johnson's Head, No. 46,
Fleet Street.